AN APOLOGY

FOR A

Late RESIGNATION:

IN

A LETTER from an *English* GENTLEMAN to his FRIEND at the *Hague*.

Culpari metuit Fides.

HOR.

The SECOND EDITION, corrected.

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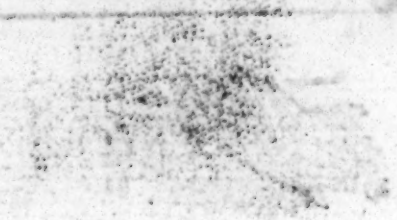

Political Pamphlets No. 109-2

An apology for the Earl of Chesterfields' Resignation of his place of Secretary of State; when he found the peace with France & Spain was concluded without his knowledge or Concurrence of any sort. Edition 2d. London 1748

.... *.. Done by himself, or some of his Underlings.

GR III
BRITISH MUSEUM

AN APOLOGY FOR A Late Reſignation, &c.

SIR;

SINCE you are ſo deſirous to know why my Lord has made it his Choice to quit the S——'s O—e, and to retire from Buſineſs at ſo delicate a Criſis as this, I ſhall make no Difficulty to comply with your Requeſt. —— But then how great will be your Surprize, when I ſet out with a Declaration, That the ſame Event which gives you ſo much Pain, gives me as much Pleaſure?

And that however warmly and ſincerely both you and I have wiſh'd to ſee him in a Station as eminent as his Abilities, I have ſince as ſincerely and warmly wiſh'd, that he had never ſuffer'd himſelf to be enſnar'd into ſuch a Station, without a Sufficiency of Power or Favour to render thoſe Abilities uſeful to his King and Country.

And that neither of theſe fell to his Share, I ſhall render manifeſt by a Chain of undeniable Facts: As alſo, that, as long as he continued to act *under* Thoſe, who, with equal Abſurdity and Diſingenuity, at once, made it their Buſineſs to decry and ſupport the Meaſures of the Cab——t, inſtead of *gracing* his Office he was *diſgrac'd* by it; and, that, conſequently, the only Method he could take to retrieve his Character was to turn his Back on ſuch Company.

Tho' you are no Stranger to my Lord's Sentiments concerning the ruinous War which is ſtill raging on the Continent, it is neceſſary, for Method's ſake, that I ſhould put you in Mind of his Conduct in Parliament relating to it, in the Year 43, and 44; when he, ſo freely

freely and fatally, foretold the Calamities which it would bring upon this Nation in caſe we perſiſted on puſhing it on at ſo vaſt an Expence, and under ſo wild a Management; and that if *Holland* ſhould ever be induc'd, or oblig'd to become a Joint-Adventurer in the ſame Project, her Sufferings would be ſo much the greater, as ſhe was more expos'd to the Strength and Fury of the Enemy.

And thus much having been premis'd, the Point that lies next before us in order of Time, is the famous Treaty of *Co-alition*, or as it was call'd more familiarly, the *Broad-Bottom* Treaty. This, it is true, had been in Agitation ſome Time before; but as it was not perfected till the Cloſe of the Year 44, it is not to be eſteem'd a Meaſure, till it had taken Effect.

At the Meetings held upon this Occaſion, the *P——m*-Party were pleas'd to adopt the pacific Sentiments of his Lordſhip above-mention'd; and expreſly deſir'd the Aſſiſtance of him and his Aſſociates in Parliament, and their Concurrence at Court, to drive out the *Common Enemy* under theſe Pretences; That

he,

he, the ſaid *Common Enemy*, had got Poſſeſſion of the R—l E--r, by adviſing the War, and by perſevering in that fatal Meaſure; and that on the contrary, their Views and Purpoſes had ever been to get rid of it at any Rate, and that, as ſoon as they found themſelves ſtrong enough for the Experiment, they would not fail to take Advantage of the Clamours of the People, their Inability to ſupport the Expence, and the Backwardneſs of *Holland* to act as Principals in the Quarrel, to prevail with his M—— to change his Meaſures as well as his Miniſters.

Thus inſtead of his Lordſhip's going firſt to Court, he had the Satisfaction to find the Court deſirous of coming to him. At leaſt he could not but think, that this was a very conſiderable Advance towards it. And as he was far from being intractable, as he knew the Court too well to inſiſt on too many Points at once, before he had got any Ground there to warrant his farther Endeavours; and as it belonged more properly to the Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons than to him to opiniatre thoſe other Points, which they had ſo often under-

undertaken to procure, in Behalf of the Conſtitution, he thought fit to cloſe with the *P——ms* on this Propoſition; becauſe the Purpoſe it was to anſwer, ſo nearly anſwered his own.

The Coalition being thus made, the next great Point was to obtain the Fruits of it, by *perſuading* his M——→ to give up the War: But when that came under Conſideration, the whole Cabal affected to entertain ſuch a Diſtruſt of their own Abilities, that not one would make Trial of them in ſo deſperate a Service. The only Method that remained then, was to raiſe ſuch Difficulties and Diſcouragements in the Proſecution of the War, ſo to prepare his M—— for an unproſperous Iſſue; and to make ſuch an Uſe of that Iſſue when it actually arriv'd, as ſhould, by Degrees, put him out of Conceit with his own favourite Meaſure, and the Perſon who became a Favourite by eſpouſing it.

But though this was the Expedient agreed upon, it was alſo agreed, to uſe ſuch Language in the C-b—t as ſhould lead his M—— into a Belief, that they were as thoroughly devoted to his Will and

and Pleaſure, as the M——r whom they had oblig'd him to part with.

Accordingly, They made no Difficulty to aſſure his M—— That they were not only ready to take up the Purſuit where he had left it off, but that by the Dint of their ſuperior Addreſs, they had prevail'd with their new Allies to do the ſame: And in practiſing this Fraud upon their R-y-l M-ſ--r, we are to ſuppoſe them ſufficiently juſtified, becauſe it was the only Courſe they could take to their own Journey's End: And becauſe they could no otherwiſe induce him to forget the Violence he had undergone, or to bear with Patience the *new Faces* which they had ſurrounded him with.

Having ſucceeded thus far, their next Endeavour was to reconcile his M——y as far as it appear'd convenient for their Intereſts, to the Perſon of my Lord: And the Method they choſe to follow was by repreſenting, 1*ſt*, the Neceſſity of ſending an E———r to *H*— to ſettle amongſt other Things, the Quotas which their H— M—— were to furniſh, and which, to the great Diſcontent of the Nation, had been hitherto totally neglected:

glected: And, *Secondly*, the Expediency of employing his Lordſhip in that Affair, as being of all Men the moſt popular on *our* Side of the Water, and the moſt welcome on *Yours:* But more eſpecially as his Lordſhip's Acceptance of that Employ would be underſtood by the World as an Argument, that he had undergone a political *Regeneration*, and that he was not only ſatisfied with his M—— Meaſures, but ready to further them to the utmoſt of his Power.

But, plauſible as theſe Suggeſtions were, it muſt be own'd, his M——y was not over eaſily prevail'd upon to admit them as the Rule of his Conduct: On the contrary, he demurr'd for ſome Time; and when he did at laſt comply, it was in ſuch a Way, as ſerv'd to ſhew, that it was rather to be rid of the *Importunity*, than for the Sake of the *Recommendation*.

This apparent Reluctance on his Side, did not, however, mortify our M——rs ſo much as their Succeſſes pleas'd them: Delicacy of Sentiment having no Place in their Syſtem, they were ſatisfy'd with carrying their Point, without once re-

flecting on the Means they had us'd, the Diſpleaſure they had given, or the Reſentment they had incurr'd. Politicians of the firſt Rank they now appear'd in their own Eyes; and in truth, to little Minds like theirs, it might very well ſeem ſtrange, that they ſhould find Ability enough to maſter the Paſſions of a great ——, and to make a Dupe of the moſt eminent Wit of the Age: And, ſurely, he could never have been induc'd to act under their Inſtructions, or ſeem to give the leaſt Countenance to a Plan which he had ſo openly condemn'd, if he had not flatter'd himſelf, that the Difficulty of talking *Frenchified Dutchmen* out of their Prejudices, or any *Dutchman* into Sentiments of Generoſity and Diſintereſtedneſs, would have weary'd out our Expectations at home; and that Diſappointment upon Diſappointment would at length have convinced us of the Folly of purſuing an unſucceſsful War, and brought us back to a right Senſe of our true Intereſt.

For the M——rs, I will be bold to ſay, That they never once deſir'd his Negociations ſhould have Succeſs: On the contrary, they were ſo far true to their *Broad-Bottom* Engagements that they pur-

purpos'd only to gain Time, to be furniſh'd with Matter of Complaint againſt the *Dutch*, and to be enabled from thence to draw ſuch Inferences as might diſpoſe his —— to put an end to the War.

But an unforeſeen and unexpected Incident for this once broke their Meaſures, and produc'd ſuch an Alteration in the Face of Affairs, that they thought fit to alter their Conduct with it: For, in a few Days after his Lordſhip's Arrival at the *H*——, Intelligence was receiv'd of the Emperor's Death; and a new Field of Enterprize being thereby open'd to the ſanguine Projectors of the Times, both Nations were eaſily induc'd to redouble their Efforts, in hope to derive ſuitable Advantages from this great Event. His R. H. the D. was appointed Commander in Chief; and by the indefatigable Induſtry, and refin'd Addreſs of his Lordſhip, their H—— M———s were induc'd to compliment his R. H. with the like Pre-eminence over the Troops of the Republic: And this was the moſt acceptable Service that his Lordſhip was able to accompliſh, during the Time of his E———y. Some other

Points

Points he alſo made a Shift to ſettle, but not on ſuch a Footing as he deſir'd, or as the Nation had a Right to expect; or as would have been granted by the *Dutch* themſelves, had they been ſincerely and heartily diſpos'd to co-operate in the War.

When, therefore, his Lordſhip return'd, with the Merit of having done all the little Good that was done, or could be done, he had a Right to require his *new Allies*, to take Advantage of the Experiment he had made, and the Impoſſibility which appear'd of bringing the *Dutch* to Reaſon; as alſo, agreeable to their Stipulations, to make Uſe of their Omnipotence to bring about a Peace—And, ſurely they had now very ſufficient Reaſons to aſſign, by way of Colour, for their ſo doing. The *Dutch*, they might have alledg'd, had been every Way tried by one of the moſt able Men in *Europe*, and one who had the moſt Intereſt in them: That, nevertheleſs, all his Pains and all his Addreſs had been thrown away, and they had been found inacceſſible to every Conſideration, but ſuch as regarded their own immediate Intereſts: That as a new Emperor would be

choſe

choſe in *October*; as the moſt effectual Meaſures had been taken to turn the Scale of Election once more in Favour of the Houſe of *Auſtria*; as an Equivalent for *Sileſia*, was to be look'd upon as the moſt romantical of all the *State-Quixotiſms* of theſe *Quixot*-Times; as *England* lay under no viſible Obligation to procure, or to aſſiſt in procuring any ſuch Equivalent; and as every Pretence of that kind, ought to be reſolv'd into the wild and drunken Promiſe of a wild and drunken M——r, no tolerable Reaſon could be urg'd for continuing the Quarrel any longer.——

This was the Language they might and ought to have uſed at this Criſis; inſtead of which they put a Stop to his Lordſhip's farther Remonſtrances, by ſending him out of the Way to *I——d:* And when *Cape Breton* was taken by the *New-Englanders*, aſſiſted by Sir *Peter Warren*, a double Portion of the *late* Favourite's Spirit ſeem'd to have taken Poſſeſſion of thoſe who had ejected him: Nothing would now ſatisfy them but the keeping the Conqueſt they had ſo unexpectedly made, and which in the moſt flouriſhing State of our Affairs, *France* would

would ſcarce have ſuffered: The Coldneſs of the Climate; the Expence of the Garriſon and Fortifications; the little Likelihood that in *Twenty* Years the Profits of the Place would balance the Coſt of *One*, were then never ſo much as mention'd: On the contrary, a certain noble D—, at that Time the Protector of it, in the Ardour of his Zeal, was pleas'd to declare, *That if* France *was Maſter of* Portſmouth, *he would hang the Man who ſhould give up* Cape-Breton *in Exchange for it.*

In a Word, this was the Stile which our ſteady M———rs were pleas'd to uſe during that whole Year, tho' his M———y was abſent, tho' a Rebellion rag'd in the Bowels of the Kingdom, and tho' the Dangers and Miſchiefs ariſing from it, through their own Negligence, or Animoſities, or ——y, call'd aloud, the one for Remedies, the other for Prevention; to which a Treaty ſeem'd to be the moſt natural and eaſy Road.

All, indeed, were not of the ſame Mind; his Lordſhip from *I——d*, and L--- *H——n* here, till the very Moment that he ſurrender'd the S—'s S--ls were

were continual Advocates for Peace; and were only conſidered as ſo much the worſe Courtiers on one Hand, and met with evaſive Anſwers on the other.

But tho' they were thus backward to fulfil their Engagements to their *New Allies*, and ſo fearful to unmask, and ſhew their *true Complexion* in the C--t, a Criſis, at laſt, arriv'd, when for a Meaſure of their own, in the midſt of a S-----n, when the whole Service of the ſucceeding Year was at Stake, they inſulted the —— with Reſignation upon Reſignation, and by the Dint of Diſtreſs, obliged him to ſurrender almoſt at Diſcretion.

This was call'd a factious Meaſure by ſome, who compar'd it to the Violence offer'd to their Kings by the Barons of old; and was univerſally condemn'd by all, when it appear'd, That the Public had no concern in the Diſpute; that inſtead of obtaining a ſecond *Magna Charta* to beſpeak the Favour and good Will of the People, they had only made a new Proviſion for themſelves and their Creatures; and that the ſame Men were employ'd, and the ſame Meaſures purſued as before.

Yes

Yes, Sir, after the Ferment had laſted three Days, every Man reſum'd his Poſt and proceeded as before; that is to ſay, they continued to grumble at the War, and yet continued to ſupport it; they retarded every Operation in debating the Expediency of it, yet agreed to all at laſt; but ſo late, and in ſuch a Manner as ſeldom fail'd to render all ineffectual; which will ſerve to account in a good Degree, for the Loſs of the Battle of *Rancour*, and the feeble Attempts which were made towards a Diverſion; by the Allies, on the Side of *Provence*, and by ourſelves on that of *Brittany*; which were the Sum of our Exploits in the Year 46.

But I cannot diſmiſs the laſt of theſe Undertakings without laying before you ſome Particulars which may be neceſſary, to juſtify the Hints which I have dropt in the preceding Paragraphs.

When the *Broad-Bottom*-Treaty was concluded, the only Stipulation in favour of the Public, was comprehended in two Words, *Engliſh Meaſures*; which were underſtood to mean, an *Engliſh Peace:* And to this the noble D----

D—, who was at the Head of the *old* M——rs, had explicitely agreed, as well as his B——r: But by this Time, his G— had diſcover'd, that tho' he had got Poſſeſſion of the C-b--t, he could not be eaſy in it, unleſs he offer'd up the ſame Incenſe, which the late *Favourite* had done before him; and as *Favour* was the ſole Object he had in View, he reſolv'd to follow it the neareſt Way. What, therefore, his B——r unwillingly ſubmitted to, and often proteſted againſt, he openly eſpous'd and ſedulouſly promoted, to the Extent of his Credit and Abilities: And with ſuch Succeſs, that the *new* M——rs (his Lordſhip excepted, who was ſtill in *I——d*) thought it their wiſeſt Way, to *trim* between their *preſent Intereſt* and their *former Profeſſions*; that is to ſay, to ſubſtitute what they call'd an *Engliſh War* inſtead of an *Engliſh Peace*.

Accordingly, they propos'd ſending a Squadron of our Men of War, together with a Body of our Foot, to reduce *Canada*, in Concert with another Body of Forces that were to be rais'd in his M—'s *American* Colonies; which they undertook to ſhew, would give the finiſhing

Stroke to the *French* Intereſt and Commerce in thoſe Parts, and thereby render the War as ſerviceable to the People, as it was agreeable at C——t.

But this ſage Propoſal of theirs, (which by the way, was utterly inconſiſtent with the Baſis of the *Coalition*,) was not made till the Beginning of *April*; whereas the Squadron ought to have been at Sea before the End of *March*: And when made, was to be debated by a motley Cabal of *new* and *old* M——rs, Soldiers, Seamen and Lawyers; Men of different Factions, different Intereſts, and irreconcilable Underſtandings: In conſequence of which, ſuch a Multiplicity of Meetings were held; what had been once ſettled with great Difficulty, was ſo eaſily unſettled; ſo much Time was ſpent in Scolding, and ſo little Effect did this Scolding produce, that, thank *God* and contrary Winds, the *Folly* of the Adviſers and Directors, ſav'd us from the *Folly* of the Expedition, and poſſibly prevented ſuch another Sacrifice, as might have countenanced that of *Carthagena*.

The

The new M——rs, however, to the laſt, inſiſted on having *their Folly* as well as the *Old*, inſomuch, that when the Month of *September* came, and hardly any Thing but Diſappointments and Deſtruction could have been the Conſequence of the Adventure, they continued to roar out, *Canada!* as before, and to maintain, That ſince they had given way to the War, they had a Right to ſet apart one Province of it to themſelves. And this they did in a vain Imagination, That the People would miſtake an *additional* Meaſure for a Change of Meaſures; and continue to be their Dupes as formerly, tho' they ſaw the War not only continued, but continued in a madder Way than ever.

Indeed, it may be admitted in their Behalf, that ſince the *old* M——rs, in Breach of the *Broad-Bottom*-Treaty, and all their own reiterated Profeſſions, had choſe to make their Court, by adopting the War on the very Plan they had ſo much decry'd, and had eſtabliſh'd their Aſcendancy thereby—They (the *New*) had no other Reſource, than to give ſuch a Turn to the Conduct of it, as ſhould render it as palatable to their own Conſciences,

ſciences, or rather to the Expectations they had rais'd, as the Humour of the C——t would allow.

But, as we have ſeen, this Refinement only ſerv'd to expoſe the fluctuating State of our Politics: For as the —— himſelf would never have given Way to the removing ſo conſiderable a Body of Troops ſo far out of Reach, ſo neither would his R—l H——ſs the D— have willingly conſented to a Meaſure, which muſt have weaken'd his Efforts in the next Campaign.

There was, therefore, a Neceſſity for the *New* M——rs in this Inſtance, to truckle to the *Old*; but while the Controverſy laſted, the Troops were harraſs'd and the Officers perplex'd with Orders and counter-Orders, with Embarkations and Debarkations; and when the Public had given over all Attention to an Object ſo variable, of a ſudden both Parties agreed in an Expedient, which was not only to *ſave Appearances*, but to wipe out the Miſcarriages of the Year, by making an Addition to our national Stock of Glory. This was the Expedition to *Britanny*, which was ſpawned out of the

the Abortion of the other; and what the Event was I have no need to ſpecify; ſome Windows were broke on the *French* Side, ſome Heads on ours; and as to the Glory in Queſtion, inſtead of acquiring any from the Enemy, we left the little we had behind us.

Such a Series of Inconſiſtencies in Council, and Miſadventures in Action, one would have thought would have open'd every Eye, and affected every Heart; and yet except Lord *H——n*, not one of the M——rs, *old* or *new*, ſeem'd at all affected by it: He, like a wiſe and honeſt *Engliſhman*, perceiving, that he was not in the *Secret* of his *own* Office, and being convinced, that it was out of his Power to prevent the Ruin he foreſaw, refus'd to ſerve any longer with a Collegue, who, with Abilities far inferior to thoſe of his Predeceſſor, out-ran him in the ſame deſperate Courſe; and after a ſuitable Remonſtrance, beſought and obtain'd his Diſmiſſion from the Ca——t.

Had his Example been follow'd by other C——t C——rs, who affected to entertain the ſame Sentiments, it is probable that the verſatile D---, who had veer'd from

from Peace to War, would have thought it adviſable, to have veer'd again from War to Peace. But thoſe who had ſo implicitly follow'd the two B——rs, on *factious* Conſiderations *only*, could not prevail on themſelves to ſtir a ſingle Step for the Sake of the *Public*: Even Mr. *P*——, who had refus'd to ruſh *headlong* with his G— into the War, and ſtill expreſs'd all imaginable Regard for his former Engagements, did not chuſe to *reſign* for the Sake of *Peace*; but pleaded in Excuſe, his Attachment to his B—r, as what ought to out-weigh every other Conſideration.

As, therefore, their Family-Connections held them ſo inſeparably united, that as long as one was in the Wrong, the other reſolved not to be in the Right, it was neceſſary for them to agree at laſt, in filling up the Vacancy, which L--d *H*---- had made, with all poſſible Expedition. The *Favourite* that Both apprehended ſo much, was ſtill within Call, and there was no body in the whole Kingdom ſo fit to out-weigh him in all Reſpects, as my Lord *C*——: My Lord *C*—— was therefore pitch'd upon; and for *this once*, both the B—rs were of a Mind; tho'

tho' for different Reaſons: The Younger expected in him a firm Ally, and an able Aſſiſtant to forward the great Work of Peace when Time ſhould ſerve: The Elder was ſufficiently convinc'd how utterly impoſſible it was for him, with all his Art and Addreſs, to ſupplant him in his new-acquir'd Favour; and Both flatter'd themſelves, that by admitting him into their Co-partnerſhip they ſhould partake of his Popularity: For, tho' the People could not diſcover that they had deriv'd the ſmalleſt Advantage from the *Coalition*, they were far from imputing their Diſappointment to his L——p; on the contrary, among all the Sub-Diviſions of a divided Party, none made the leaſt Exception to the Choice which had been made: And as to the People in general, ſo complete was their Satisfaction and ſo intemperate their manner of expreſſing it, that the only Difficulty which lay upon his L——p was to anſwer the Expectations his Merit had rais'd.

That, indeed, his L——p ſhould quit an Employment of the moſt Eaſe, Dignity, Luſtre and Profit in the whole Eſtabliſhment, which he had fill'd in ſo amiable a Manner, as had procur'd him not

not only the Love but almoſt the Adoration of the People committed to his Charge, to aſſiſt in piloting a Ship ſo leaky, ſo ill rigg'd, mann'd and officer'd, and expos'd to the Fury of ſuch a Storm, created Wonder in ſome: But then this very Wonder drew along with it additional Compliments to his matchleſs Merit; for it was always reply'd, That he could have no other Motive for making ſuch an Exchange but the Pleaſure and the Glory of ſaving a ſinking State.

And this, no doubt, was his real Motive, tho' he had not the good Fortune to fulfil his Purpoſe, or to explain it by any ſuch ſignal Action as might put the Matter of Fact out of the Reach of Controverſy or Cavil.

I have, at leaſt, ſufficient Authority to aſſure you, Sir, That he accepted of this new Office on the ſame Principle that he concluded the *Broad-Bottom* Negociation; for the Sake of delivering his poor Country out of the Hands of the Deſtroyer, and of expediting a ſafe and honourable Peace.

This, I ſay, was ſtill the great Object of his Attention; but then he had ſcarce taken

taken Poſſeſſion of his Office, before he was more than ever convinc'd of the great Difficulty of attaining it: For his Collegue with his uſual Moderation, had reſerv'd the Power of filling up all the Employments in his L——p's Department as well as his own: And as to the young, ambitious, notable Pl-n--o-- at the H---, which was the great Center of all Negotiation, tho' he had once followed his L——p as his acknowledged Leader, and the Naval D--- as his acknowledged Friend, he had by this Time ſet up for himſelf, and manifeſted, that he had no Attachment but to Power, and to thoſe who had the largeſt Share of it to diſtribute: His ſecret Correſpondence with his G---- of *N*-----, tho' he was in the Province of L--d *H*------, and the juſt Offence it gave to his L——p, were no Secrets to the World: The Declararations he had formerly made againſt the War, which were deliver'd with more Warmth, and in ſtronger Terms, than thoſe of any other *Mal-content*, were now forgot; and if any impertinent Monitor put him in mind of them, he made no Difficulty to ſay, That as both the Object and Meaſures were chang'd, he had a Right to change his Opinion; which was juſt as concluſive

as if he had ſaid, That, as long as he continued to follow a D—, it was no matter whether it was he who preſided at *Sea*, or he who directed by *Land:* In ſhort, no Principles could fix him, no Friendſhip could hold him, no Senſe of Gratitude could bind him; and for all theſe Reaſons, my Lord reſolved not to truſt him.

That, however, he might not be wanting in his Duty to his — and Country, nor loſe Sight of any Opportunity to facilitate his great Point, he ſent over to the *H*---- a *Dependent* of his own, on *whom* he could rely, with proper Inſtructions; and, in the mean Time, apply'd all the Art and Addreſs he was maſter of, to cultivate a proper *Diſpoſition* at home.

But all his Art and Addreſs, tho' diverſified into a greater Variety of Shapes and Colours than the *Proteus* of the Poets was ſuppos'd capable of aſſuming, were without Effect: The hot Fit ſtill rag'd at Court, and every Medicine of every Kind was rejected; for no Vehicle, no Gilding could render them grateful.

His

His R—— H—— the D—— was again ſent over to *Holland*, to ſettle the Operations of the Campaign: The Troops to be employ'd in it, upon *Paper*, amounted to 140,000 Men: The neceſſary Conventions were ſoon adjuſted: And thus the new S——y was hurry'd away by the Torrent, into the very Meaſure which he had moſt oppos'd, moſt diſapprov'd, and which it was moſt his Study to terminate: But then he did not fail to proteſt againſt it in the ſtrongeſt Terms: He had alſo the Conſolation, to be aſſur'd by the whole Cabal, That if this one Effort more did not prove effectual, it ſhould be the laſt; and that they would accept the next Offers which either *France* or *Spain* ſhould make: And it was not unknown to him, that a ſort of Negociation with the laſt of theſe Powers, was then depending, and had been ſo, for above half a Year before.

It was in this Manner, Sir, the Winter paſs'd over; and as the Spring came forward, the Year itſelf was not ſo forward as our Hopes: We were firſt in the Field, and had a fair Opportunity of ſnatching ſome conſiderable Advantage before

fore the Enemy cou'd have been in a Condition to oppoſe us. But Advantages in the Field were, it ſeems, what was moſt apprehended by thoſe who had the Management of the R-v---e at home: They were not only for a Peace upon *any Terms*, but by *any Means*; and were wholly indifferent whether it aroſe by the Ruin of their *Friends* or their *Foes*. Agreeable, therefore, to theſe equally ſtrange and deſtructive Notions, they tr--che—ſly made it their Buſineſs to ſtarve the Cauſe they undertook to ſupport: For, according to the ridiculous Oeconomy of the preſent Times, which conſiſts in ſaving Hundreds and waſting Thouſands, ſo ridiculouſly thrifty were the Contracts they made, and ſo ſcantily were the Magazines ſupplied, that this Army, which in the Beginning of *April* was ſtrong enough to act offenſively, was diſabled from acting at all, till it was too late to do ſo, except at their own Expence.

And what was the calamitous Event? Why the *Dutch*, either in Deſpair of Succour, or in Conformity to the *factious* Purpoſes of thoſe who were *then* uppermoſt, or perhaps inſtigated alike by their Partiſans, both in *E*—— and *France*, became

became *Felo de ſe*; and with a Treachery not to be paralell'd in Hiſtory, deliver'd up part of their Country to their Enemies, to be aveng'd of their *Friends*; and, as you know, were on the Point of concluding a *Neutrality* for the Reſt, if the People had not come to a Reſolution to provide for their own Safety, by declaring the Prince of *Orange Stadtholder*.

And ſuch a Turn did that great, ſeaſonable and important Incident give to the Face of Affairs, that, if the Abilities of our C-b—t M——rs had been equal to the Management of it, or if they had embrac'd any Principle of Union which might have enabled them to exert *ſuch* Abilities as they had; or if the Action of *La Valle* had not happen'd, or had prov'd fortunate to the Allies; or even if a ſenſible Uſe had been made of our Misfortune, this Campaign had been the laſt of the War: And my Lord would have had the ſupreme Satisfaction, of contributing to the Re-eſtabliſhment of the Peace, on a ſolid and laſting Baſis.

I am ſenſible, that ſome of theſe Particulars require an Explanation: But you muſt excuſe me, if I do not enter into

a Diſcuſſion of the Action itſelf; or whether it was worth while to run the Riſque of ſuch a Misfortune; whether it would not have been more eligible to lye on the Defenſive, and to make it the great Object of the Reſidue of the Campaign to cover *Maeſtricht* and *Bergen-Op-Zoom*; and if I confine all I have to ſay on thoſe Heads, to what *follow'd* the Action, and the Opportunity thereby thrown in our Way, to bring the War to a happy Iſſue, which had hitherto produced nothing but Unhappineſs, tho' conducted at different Times, by the Two Pr--n---s, who had alone been thought worthy of the Truſt, by the common Voice of the Allies.

It is known to all *Europe*, that General *Legonier* was made a Priſoner at *La Valle*; but not ſo univerſally, how much Honour he acquir'd in Exchange for his Liberty: It has been ſaid, That he ow'd his Misfortune to his Raſhneſs: And it muſt be own'd, that a Man who with but Thirty Squadrons ventures to charge One Hundred and Fifty, does, at firſt Sight, ſeem liable to ſuch an Imputation: But the Characters of Actions cannot be fairly given, unleſs a due Re-

gard

gard be ſhewn to the Circumſtances which attend them. Now the whole Body of Infantry under the Command of his R—— H—— the D—, were expos'd to the Fury of theſe Hundred and fifty Squadrons, and nothing but the deſperate Attack in Queſtion, could have ſav'd them from being cut to Pieces; or ſecur'd the Perſon of his R—— H——; or preſerv'd *Maeſtricht*; which had otherwiſe fallen into the Hands of the Enemy the ſame Evening: Whereas they were ſo ſurpriz'd, and ſo diſorder'd by the Diverſion which the General had thus gallantly and ſeaſonably made, that, his R—— H—— had ſufficient Time to recover *Maeſtricht*, and to poſt his Troops in Safety, on the other Side of the *Meuſe*.

You will pardon this Digreſſion, I hope, Sir: Leſs would not have been ſufficient to diſculpate the brave Man I am ſpeaking of; and much more would ſcarce be ſufficient to do him Juſtice: Nor have I taken the Hint to diſcourſe of him merely in his own Capacity of a Soldier; but alſo, as the Cataſtrophe of that Day made him a principal Actor in a Scene of a very different Kind; which

I am

I am now going to diſplay, and which in the Iſſue, will likewiſe ſerve to diſplay the Perfidy of the two B——rs with whom my Lord *C——d* was ſo unhappily connected.

When the Action was over, General *Legonier* was preſented, with all the Regard that was due to his Rank and Merit, to the Moſt Chriſtian King by the Count *de Saxe*; and, among many other gracious and condeſcending Things, which his Majeſty had the Goodneſs to ſay upon that Occaſion, he was pleas'd to ask, in a Stile and Manner becoming ſo great a Prince, When he might hope to obtain Peace from the King his Sovereign? As alſo, whether *E——d* was not as yet weary of the Burden ſhe had taken upon her Shoulders? Inſinuating, withal, That it was more than Time ſhe ſhould; ſince ſhe alone was at the Expence of all; and yet of all the Allies, none fought but his Maj—'s Royal and Electoral Subjects: And, laſtly, he diſmiſs'd him with a Signification to this Effect, That the Count *de Saxe*, and the Duke *de Noailles*, ſhould confer with him more particularly on the ſame Subject.

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Accordingly, the very next Day, the Conference, ſo promis'd, was held; and the two Generals above-named gave him to underſtand, That it was the King's Pleaſure, he ſhould be ſent back to his R—l H—— upon his Parole, with a Propoſal to this Effect, That his Majeſty was willing to declare the Peace at the Head of the Two Armies, as ſoon as the neceſſary Powers from *England* could be obtain'd, on the following Conditions, viz.

On the Part of *France*.

To acknowledge the Emperor; and to return all *Flanders*, except *Furnes*, in caſe we inſiſted on the Demolition of *Dunkirk*; or together with *Furnes*, in caſe we conſented, that *Dunkirk* ſhould continue in its preſent State.

And on the Part of the Allies.

That *England* ſhould reſtore *Cape-Breton*: And the Empreſs and the King of *Sardinia*, provide an Eſtabliſhment for Don *Philip*:

The *French* Generals adding, That the King did not inſiſt on a ſplendid one; and that what they did inſiſt on was to be conſidered in no other Light, than as a Salvo for their Maſter's Honour.

Now one would have thought, that in the Circumſtances we were reduc'd to, theſe Conditions would have been thought reaſonable enough by any Set of People who had not quite loſt their Senſes, or who even affected to have any Regard to their former Declarations: And yet, after they had been debated a thouſand Times over, in his M——'s C-b--t, and in the C-b--t of every one of the M——rs, and Sub-M---rs, they were finally referr'd to a Congreſs, for the ſame Reaſon that myſterious Points of Faith are referr'd to general Councils; that is to ſay, to be fritter'd away in Squables without End.

What is ſtill more aſtoniſhing, even the Loſs of *Bergen-op-Zoom*, made no Abatement in our Phrenzy; on the contrary, we invited over a great Nobleman from *H——d*, who was equally touch'd with the ſame Diſeaſe, and, Hand over Head, form'd a new Concert with him for the enſuing Year, wearing, indeed, a more formidable Face than that of the Year preceding, becauſe reinforc'd with many additional Legions, which, by their uncouth Names, might be very eaſily miſtaken for *Lucifer*'s Body-Guards, but encumber'd alſo with an additional Charge; which

which we had already articled to defray, tho' they ſhould never reach the Scene of Action; or, at leaſt, not till the *United Provinces* were loſt; and our national Troops, with his R---- H—— at their Head, were on their March towards the *Elbe*, there to embark for *England*, and never to reviſit the Continent any more.

My Lord, however, did not fail to remonſtrate, as before, againſt this fatal Obſtinacy, nor to challenge the Performance of the Promiſes which had been made him, nor to manifeſt, as well to his *Colleague* in particular, as to the C-b---t in general, That they would be held inexcuſable in letting ſlip this great Opportunity: That, they were never to hope for a Better, tho' they ſhould repeat the ſame frantic Experiment for ten Years to come: That in all Probability, every ſuch Repetition, would redouble our Difficulties and Dangers: That tho' *Holland* ſhould, at laſt, incline to cooperate in earneſt, they had demurr'd till we were exhauſted: That having done ſo much already without the Aſſiſtance of the *Dutch*, they could neither wonder nor complain, that we did no more:

That

That for his Part, he had undertaken to aſſiſt in carrying on the War, only for *one* Campaign, or till either *France* or *Spain* ſhould be brought to Reaſon: And that he would take Care to be no longer anſwerable for the Iſſue of a Meaſure, which he had never approv'd.— To all which his G— was pleas'd to anſwer, with all that Compoſure, Deliberation, and Solidity, which is ſo natural to him.

"We muſt ſtay to ſee what *Spain* will "do.——The Thing moſt to be wiſh'd, "is a ſeparate Peace with that Crown.— "If *France* and *Spain* were once to ſe- "parate, the Breach could never be "clos'd.—It would be the *greateſt Stroke* "that *France* ever receiv'd.—A M——r's "Conduct ought not to regard Months "or S—ſ—ns only, but all Futurity.— "I would have mine try'd by that Stan- "dard only.—And I expect to have the "Bleſſings of my Country for it.— Yet,

Thus an Overture is no ſooner made by *France*, than we are led, in a ſurprizing Manner, back to the Negociation with *Spain*, which I touch'd upon above, and which it is now neceſſary to explain more at large. The

The Perſon by whoſe Means a Correſpondence had been open'd with the Court of *Madrid*, was a *Spaniſh* Gentleman reſiding in this Capital, whoſe Fortune in Part reſembled that of a late great Miniſter, whom I have had frequent Occaſion to allude to: For at the ſame Time that he had the Honour to be a ſort of Favourite to his preſent C—— M——y, he had the Misfortune to labour under a public Diſgrace: Of his Abilities, his Depth, his Sagacity, his Prudence, and all his other eminent Qualifications for a Negociator, I need not enlarge; for he himſelf has ſufficiently expos'd them to the whole World: And yet on this Reed did our all-ſufficient M——rs chuſe to reſt *the whole* Weight of this Affair: On all Emergencies relating to *Spain*, he was conſulted; on all Points whatever, his Advice was follow'd; and yet, tho' no viſible Succeſs accompanied his Endeavours, and all the Produce of his Credit at *Madrid*, amounted to no more than a ceremonious Letter now and then from ſome great Man or other, ſignifying a great Willingneſs to promote a Peace, without any Power to bring it about; ſo great was their Credulity, ſo little their Penetration, that they appeared perfectly ſatisfy'd with them.

At length, however, without any Providence, or even Foreſight of theirs, the Proſpect mended a little on that Side: For, by the Connivance of *France*, and with a Permit, in the Shape of a Paſsport, from the Count *de Saxe*, arrived here one Mr. *Wall*, an *Iriſh* Major General in the *Spaniſh* Service, and produc'd Powers to open a Treaty with us in form.

And now, after ſuch ardent Longings expreſs'd by our M——rs, for a Peace with *Spain*, ſuch unreſerv'd Declarations of the Utility of that Meaſure, ſuch a Coldneſs ſhewn to the Offers of *France* on that Account, and ſuch florid Pretences ſo to purſue the Welfare of the preſent, as to deſerve the Bleſſings of all future Ages, one would have imagin'd, that Mr. *Wall* and his Propoſals would have been receiv'd like an Angel from Heaven with a New Revelation: Inſtead of which he had the Mortification to be told, by the ſame Perſon who had talk'd in ſo pompous a Strain before, That we could do nothing without our Allies: And yet farther, when he ſpoke of the Eſtabliſhment of Don *Philip*, That in lieu of the Ceſſions to be made

by

by the Empreſs-Queen, and the King of *Sardinia*, for that End, *Spain* muſt admit her Imperial Majeſty to the Poſſeſſion of *le Terre delle Preſidie*, and alſo the King of *Sardinia* to that of the *Riviera de Tonant*: To which *Wall*, like an honeſt Man, briskly reply'd, "That "his Maſter could not in Honour com- "ply with that Demand; nor would be "induc'd to give up his Allies any more "than we.

Thus, Sir, the Negociation ſo much deſir'd, and which dropt ſo unexpectedly into our very Mouths, as one may ſay, was at a Stand almoſt as ſoon as open'd! And our wiſe and able M——rs had no better Expedient at Hand to keep it depending by Way of Amuſement, than to commit their Concern in it, to the Management of the Gentleman, who had ſerv'd them ſo ably, and ſo ſucceſsfully before. Whence it follow'd, ridiculouſly enough, that as a *Britiſh*-born Subject was employ'd to negociate the Intereſts of *Spain* at the *Britiſh* Court, ſo a native *Spaniard*, was employ'd by that Court to negociate the Intereſts of *Great Britain*.

The

The Affair, however, ſucceeded no better under this Direction, than it had done before: The Two Agents had many Meetings, and after as many Debates, could agree in nothing, but to refer a State of the Points in Controverſy to the Court of *Madrid*, which was done accordingly: And, in conſequence thereof, *Wall* received full Powers to ſign upon the following Conditions; namely,

That *England* ſhould prevail with her Allies, either to cede *Parma* and *Placentia* to Don *Philip*; or leave him in Poſſeſſion of *Savoy*:

Or by way of Alternative, if that could not be at preſent obtain'd, That the Peace ſhould be reſtor'd between the two Nations, both by Land and Sea, on the beſt and moſt ſolid Footing, with an Exception to *Italy*, where it ſhould ſtill be lawful for both Nations to continue the War, in ſuch Manner, as ſhould be held moſt conducive to their ſeveral Intereſts.

Now, Sir, one would have thought, that the Time was come, when the Two

M—l Factions which had ſo long divided the C-b--t on the oppoſite Points of War and Peace might have join'd Iſſue: For by eſpouſing the laſt of theſe Propoſals, the Former might have continued their Career with as much Fury as ever; and the Latter would have been inabled to furniſh out ſufficient Ways and Means to ſupport them in it. For the immediate Conſequences of our embracing it would have been that Separation of the Two Crowns which had been repreſented as ſuch a killing Stroke to *France*; and our becoming once more the Favourite Nation: The Recovery of the *Spaniſh* Trade, would beſides have given new Life to our Manufactures and Commerce: Wealth would have flowed in on one Side, as it ebb'd out on the other. Our annual Gains would have ſupply'd our annual Waſte: We ſhould have had the *French Weſt-India* Trade at our Mercy: Even on the Continent, we ſhould have been able to have fac'd them on equal Terms: And when the general Aſpect of our Affairs had taken ſo agreeable a Turn, there is not a Man in *England* who has the Honour of his King and Country at Heart, that would not have contributed any reaſonable Proportion of his Means to have

rais'd it as high, as ever it had been rais'd in any Reign before.

It is not without the moſt ſenſible Concern, that I proceed to tell you the Reſt. Theſe Propoſals ſo deſir'd, ſo reaſonable, ſo beneficial, were laid before the *Select* Part of the C---l; and after a due Time had been taken for Deliberation, they were rejected on the Point of Honour, which, as it was alledg'd by the NEW FAVOURITE, would not ſuffice his M-----y to do any thing without his *Allies*.

Now it is difficult to concieve, how the Intereſt of the *Allies* could be affected, by our Acceptance of the laſt of theſe Propoſals: On the contrary, as every Link of the Chain, which held them together, ſeem'd to be forg'd of *Engliſh* Gold, every Meaſure which had a Tendency to enable *England* to keep it annually in Repairs, ought to have been eſteem'd a *common* Meaſure, becauſe manifeſtly conducive to the *common Intereſt*.

But the Word *Allies* ought to have been us'd in the ſingular Number, inſtead of the plural. For, in truth *S---a* was the only Power comprehended under it: And it was purely in Complement

ment to the *Gondamore* of that C--t, reſiding here, and in Subſerviency to his Views, that his G--- both then and at all Times, has been induc'd to ſacrifice the Intereſts of Great *Britain* whenſoever they interfer'd, or but ſeem'd to interfere with thoſe of his S---n M----y.

How a foreign M----r came to attain ſuch an Aſcendancy in the B--t--h C-b--t; and for what Conſiderations a B—— S—— condeſcends to be his Tool, is very well underſtood at C——t, and might be very eaſily and fully explain'd here, but that I am fearful of treſpaſſing upon your Patience, and for that Reaſon haſten to a Cloſe.

Many People have objected to the Treaty of *Worms*, on account of the Proviſion that was made in it to gratify the K--- of S----- with the Marquiſate of *Final*: They thought it was not over equitable to oblige a neutral, if not a friendly Power, to part with a Province, it was lawfully poſſeſs'd of, though for a valuable Conſideration: And they thought it was not over politic, to ſuffer that Clauſe to be made public: Becauſe it was eaſy to foreſee what Uſe the Enemy would make of it, to ſpirit up the *Genoeſe*, both againſt the Empreſs

Queen

Queen and the K----- of S---a. But then they gave way to the Neceſſities of the Times; and, with Regard to the Subſidy, which his S---n M----y at the ſame Time received from hence, and which was known to be equal to his whole Revenue, not a ſingle Murmur eſcap'd from any Quarter whàtſoever: On the contrary, the whole Nation ſeem'd pleas'd with an Opportunity of ſhewing their Eſteem for a Prince, who was even more illuſtrious for his high Qualities than his high Birth

But even Friendſhip and Generoſity ought to have a Bound: As far as we ſtand obliged by the Treaty of *Worms*, no doubt, we are bound in Honour to aſſiſt him to the utmoſt of our Power: But why new Conditions ſhould be impoſed on us; and why we ſhould not be ſuffered to embrace ſuch Offers, as ſo manifeſtly regard our own Well-Being, unleſs we procure *Savona* for him, together with the whole *Riviera*, ſurpaſſes all Imagination.--- It will be anſwered, I know, that his Merits and Services deſerve all this and more, and nobody will diſpute the Emminence of either. But Merits and Services do not uſe to have ſo much Weight with his G--ce: And believe me,

Sir,

Sir, if the *Gondamar* abovementioned, had not been ſhamefully, I will not ſay traiterouſly, entruſted with ſo many Secrets, his M—ſ—r would not have been ſo much his Favourite.

In ſhort, Sir, as in the Courſe of theſe Proceedings, my Lord had abundant Conviction, that he had been cheated with falſe Promiſes, that neither the Overtures of *France* or *Spain* were attended to: That, unleſs *Genoa* was deſtroyed in Complement to his M—r of S— and by Way of *Huſh-Money* to his M—n—r, no Peace was to be obtained; and that, conſequently, neither Peace or War would be proſecuted upon an *Engliſh* Plan: And that all Hope, with Reſpect to the Public, was at an end; he once more adopted that delicate Sentiment of Mr. *Addiſon*'s,

When Vice prevails and impious Men bear Sway,
The Poſt of Honour is a private Station.

and reſign'd on Saturday.

Happy at leaſt, in ſo getting rid of the Uneaſineſs and Diſgrace of being no better than a *Clerk* in his own *Office*; and

and as the Tenure of that Office, of being obliged to ſign and ſeal, againſt his Conſcience and his Country, under the Direction of thoſe whom he neither lov'd or eſteem'd; and who had only drawn him into a ſeeming Participation of their Iniquities, that they might deprive him of his Popularity, and eſtabliſh a fatal Belief, that what Difference ſoever Nature had made in the Capacities of Men, all in their Hearts were corrupt, and proſtitute alike!

Thus, Sir, I have done my Beſt to anſwer your Expectation, and hope, I have ſucceeded in it.—Why his L——p, who had ſo many Followers, when he went into Court, had none when he went out, you do not think it worth your while to enquire, nor I to explain.—He that has Honour and Virtue for his Companions, needs no other: And for thoſe his L---p has left behind him, they are ſatisfy'd with the Profits and Emoluments of their Places, which, it is now manifeſt, was all they meant by thoſe captivating Words, *Old England!* and *the Conſtitution!*

FINIS.